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ABSTRACT

Surveyed in this paper is the social science research on Southeast Asian refugee settlement in Canada. According to the survey, the body of literature on Indochinese immigrants is substantially larger than those on other ethnocultural Canadian populations of comparable size. Policy analysis is well developed, and there now exists sufficient information to put together a broad sketch of Indochinese immigrant life in Canada. The paper states, however, that there are enormous gaps and omissions in the literature, some due to the newness of the field, which is less than five years old. Areas where the research is said to be scarce or completely lacking are (1) Lao and Khmer refugees; (2) immigrants' links with their source countries or their source country kin; (3) the structure of Indochinese communities in Canada; (4) the effect of the 1981-83 economic downturn on refugees; (5) Indochinese use of social, health, and educational services; (6) language problems; (7) family and mental health problems; (8) Indochinese women in Canada; (9) what aspects of the settlement saga are attributable to ethnic group status and what aspects to refugee status; (10) the direction of the refugees' long term integration into Canadian society; and (11) oral and community history. An attached bibliography (which constitutes half of this paper) lists almost all available studies involving research on Indochinese settlement in Canada. (CMG)

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Social Science Research on Southeast Asian Refugee Settlement in Canada

Prepared for the Symposium on the Problems and Consequences of Refugee Migrations in the Developing World, August 29th to September 1st, 1983, Hecla Island Provincial Park, Manitoba, Canada.

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People from Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea do not have a long tradition of immigration to Canada.[1] In fact, there were only about one thousand immigrants from these countries living in Canada prior to 1975. Most were either students or highly trained professionals living in Quebec (Nguyen and Dorais 1979). At that time, Indochinese Canadians attracted almost no academic attention.

With the fall of the Thieu regime in 1975, approximately 6,000 individuals came to Canada as political refugees, coming primarily from refugee centers established in Hong Kong, Guam and the United States. Most of these newcomers were middle class people who either were involved in government work, the military or the professions in Vietnam. Half were relatives of former students. The majority of Vietnamese went to Quebec and Ontario (Nguyen and Dorais 1979; April 1977; Ribeyron 1977), but some were attracted elsewhere by better job prospects. In this fashion small communities of Vietnamese became established in Calgary, Edmonton and Vancouver. There had been virtually no Vietnamese living previously in these cities, hence there was no community infrastructure to help these refugees establish themselves. Refugee settlement generally proceeded smoothly (see Indra 1983b on Alberta settlement, Nguyen and Dorais 1979 on Quebec), because of the congruence of several factors: refugees were generally very skilled, were comparatively bicultural, and came to Canada at a time when the economy was strong.

This second wave of immigrants also attracted little academic attention; almost no research was carried out on any aspect of Vietnamese settlement in Canada between 1975 and 1978. Some work was done which touched on psychological adjustment (K.B. Chan 1977), refugee policy (Dirks 1977), settlement problems

(Nguyen 1977), and cross-cultural adaptation (Vuong-Riddick 1976). Even so, most research was not centrally focused on Indochinese per se.

This research situation can be explained primarily because of several characteristics of the academic establishment in Canada, which continue to impede the development of research in this area. Perhaps the most important constraint is that Vietnamese refugee settlement falls between the cracks of the disciplinary division of labor. Canada has a well established community of East and Southeast Asian studies scholars, but their concerns have continued to be almost exclusively with overseas research. They have generally lacked both the interest in and the methodological tools to investigate Southeast Asian settlement in Canada. As a consequence, research has suffered from an inability to fully tap the cultural knowledge of these individuals. Vietnamese communities in Canada prior to 1978 were quite small, hence they did not attract the attention of sociologists, while urban anthropologists tendancy to make rather long term commitments to research on particular ethnocultural populations limited their input also. In addition, as elsewhere, research attention in Canada is a strong function of the degree to which a particular phenomenon is seen to be problematic. In 1976-7 Vietnamese entered without attracting much in the way of media attention, and rather quickly established themselves. Their settlement was seen in social problem terms chiefly by a handful of social service and immigration workers.

From the mid-1970's the flow of immigrants fom Indochhina rather closely matched that to the United States, at least in a general sense. After a hiatus of a few years, refugees began arriving in 1978 as a consequence of a decision on the part of the Canadian government to accept a larger number of political refugees from Vietnam. This was initiated in part by the now-famous Hai Hong incident, when

Canada airlifted 604 people off of the stranded freighter (Canada Employment and Immigration Commission [hereafter CEIC] 1982a; Pappone 1982) Refugees were soon arriving in large numbers. By 1979 the Government of Canada had developed a unique program whereby Canadians were asked to volunteer to share some of the responsibilities of settling refugees with the government. For each refugee that private sponsorship groups brought in and settled, the government agreed to support the settlement of one more. This became known as the "one-to-one formula" (CEIC 1982a; 1982b; Adelman et al 1980). By the end of 1980, 7,688 sponsor groups had formed across Canada (CEIC 1982a), their formation having been spearheaded largely by church organizations and later by ad hoc organizations developed to assist and encourage sponsorship groups. 60,000 Indochinese came to Canada through one or the other of these sponsorship routes prior to 1982. Immigrants from Southeast Asia thereafter will continue to come an an annual rate of at least 5-10,000 for the foreseeable future. There are now about 80,000 Indochinese in Canada--a comparatively large number, when one considers it in relation to Canada's population of 24,000,000.

In several respects the settlement of refugees between 1978 and 1981 matched that in the United States. As in the U.S., the infrastructure of immigration and settlement services was at first unprepared to deal with either the volume or the unique cultural demands of Indochinese. There was almost no information easily available to people interfacing with newcomers on any of the ethnocultural groups which were arriving, and little in the way of knowledge about their source countries was generally known. No Canadian refugee program in recent times had dealt with such a large number of individuals in such a short period of time, and consequently there were few appropriate models of settlement to fall back upon.

In most places to which refugees wound up there were no established ethnocultural communities, hence little community support for the settlement process.

At the same time, there were several crucial differences between how settlement proceeded in Canada and the United States which can only briefly mentioned here (see Adelman et al 1980; CEIC 1980b; 1980a; 1982; Lanphier 1981b). As mentioned, Canada developed an extensive system whereby groups of private citizens could sponsor refugees, agreeing to support them for up to a year if necessary (CEIC 1980d; Operation Lifeline 1981). This program gave many refugees significant advantages in becoming established (see references below). It also resulted in a high initial degree of geographical dispersal, as refugees were sent wherever sponsorship groups were established. This dispersal was accentuated by an initial informal policy of assimilation on the part of the government, which was later changed when it was realized that geographically isolated refugees lacked both settlement services and beneficial community support systems.

Government sponsored refugees were primarily assisted through a complex network of government and non-governmental agencies in a rather different fashion than in the U.S. (Lanphier 1981a; 1981b; 1983; CEIC 1981a; 1981b; 1982a). Voluntary organizations ranging from ongoing immigrant settlement agencies to churches to temporary groups provided very selective services. Also, Indochinese refugees came to Canada when there were comparatively greater economic possibilities available to them than in the United States (Alberta Advanced Education & Manpower 1982). Perhaps because most of their communities were at first relatively small and institutionally incomplete they were not extensively the target of racism or anti-immigrant prejudice (Adelman 1980c; Breakspear 1980; Siu 1980a).

Because of the suddenness with which the refugee flow developed, the practical business of settlement by definition largely preceeded the development of research. The first phase of Canadian research on Indochinese settlement (1978-1981) was primarily marked not so much by formal research breaking new ground as on the rapid provision of extant information on refugee culture, needs and source country situations to those involved in the settlement process. For example, some cities (Vancouver 1980; Gilbert 1979 for Metro Toronto) and provincial governments (Ontario Ministry of Culture 1979; 1981; MacMillan 1979) actively disseminated such information, as did the federal government (Canada. Minister of Supply and Services 1979; 1980; n.d.) and many private organizations. Canadian Mennonites were one of the most active groups in the private sponsorship of refugees, and the Mennonite Central Committee generated several important background papers on the question of sponsorship aimed at potential sponsors (Mennonite Central Committee 1979). They also produced orientation materials for Indochinese in camps waiting to come to Canada (Saunders 1981). Thus arose a host of background papers on Southeast Asian source countries and the refugee condition; few of these are included in this bibliography.[2] At the same time, there were a few studies done by academics which characterized descriptively several aspects of the settlement process (Nguyen and Dorais 1979; K. Chan 1977; anonymous 1979; Drudi 1979; Indra 1979). Like background papers, many of these were oriented towards the social service community, policy makers and sponsors (Tepper 1980; Adelman 1980a). In this respect, the edited book by Tepper (1980) is noteworthy in that it was the first systematic academic attempt to present what was then available about Indochinese refugee settlement. It was at this time that research teams in Canada began several rather long term longitudinal projects on Indochinese refugee adaptation (see below).

Beginning in 1980 one saw the rise of a considerable number of comparatively small scale studies of on-the-ground refugee settlement across the country. By small scale, I mean that they were typified by being carried out by either one or two researchers, by limited financial support and by a small-scale, highly localized empirical and topical focus. Many were analyses of mental health problems (K. Chan 1977; S. Nguyen 1979; 1980a; 1980b; 1981; 1982a; 1982b; Piotrowski 1980; Tyhurst 1980; Chan & Lam 1981; 1983; Suh 1980; Li 1980; Li et al 1980). There developed a consensus among these mental health researchers that there was a high degree of mental illness among Indochinese refugees (Suh 1980), rather predictably many psychological problems were seen to be directly dervivative from the refugee experience (K. Chan 1983a; 1983b; 1983c; n.d.). A considerable amount of the published research on mental health derived from ongoing practical work with Indochinese immigrants, and consequently was highly applied, suggesting key difficulties and possible means for their resolution (S. Nguyen 1979, etc.; Li 1980; Li et al 1980). Some theoretical models of refugee uprooting and mental responses developed out of this work (Nguyen 1980b). Mooney (1982) has generated a summary bibliography of mental health research and Indochinese refugees, which includes both Canadian and American material.

Other studies of this variety dealt with refugee health needs in Canada (Tan 1980; Alberta Advanced Education and Manpower 1980a; Dahlberg 1980; Keystone 1979; 1980; Lees and Doliszny 1982). In general, discussion of Indochinese health problems mirrored that in the United States, noting the special disease problems of refugees (Keystone 1979; 1980; Tan 1980) and culturally-based attitudes towards medicine and health (Alberta Advanced Education and Manpower (1980a). At the same time, Lees and Doliszney (1982) have argued on clinical evidence that Southeast Asian

utilization of health care services quickly matches that of the general population in frequency of use and type of needs.

The analysis of settlement-related family problems soon became a rather important subject of research. Because of the comparatively undeveloped nature of Southeast Asian Canadian community organization, family was the most important social unit by far for most refugees. Numerous studies noted the consequences of refugee flight and sudden settlement on family structure (Chan and Lam 1981; Indra 1980; 1983b; Lin et al 1980; Q. Nguyen 1979; Poon 1977; Neuwirth & Clark 1981). These studies stressed in particular the important role which family plays in the maintenance of personal identity and sense of stability; these have clearly been highly stressed by changes in family organization brought on either by the flight from Indochina or by consequent socioeconomic and cultural adaptation (Lam 1983; Chan 1983). In contrast, rather little research has focused on the situations of Southeast Asian refugees who do not live in family units. In particular, although the special needs of groups such as young unattached men and women have been noted from the first by the social service community (and by ethnic organizations), these groups have not been the target of concerted research; Nguyen's (1980b) work with these groups has established the importance of the development of community-based, fictive kinship networks in easing the disorientation of personal identity caused by uprooting and flight. In a somewhat similar vein, the importance of having a strong social service provision system tailored to Southeast Asian needs is well recognized, but research on the actual implimentation of such services by other than government is very sketchy.[3]

There was one national study of immigrant social service needs initiated by the government of Canada at that time. It is now in the process of completion (see

Newman 1983). This study addresses government programs and voluntary agency opinions of refugee needs and extant social service provision. Another government research project attempted to assess the impact of the 1979-80 influx of Indochinese refugees on Canada Immigration Centres and Canada Employment Centers (CEIC 1981).

Most (but not all) of the above investigations of the social service needs of Indochinese refugees rely heavily on data from social service agencies and government. Because of its importance (and international uniqueness), private sponsorship has been the target of numerous investigations. For example, Fuhr (1981) surveyed the attitudes of people to their roles as private sponsors; C.S. Services has recently done a follow up study on the views of these same sponsors two years later. There is now strong evidence that refugees who were privately sponsored tended to have considerably fewer settlement difficulties than those who were government sponsored (see CEIC 1981 for some initial data). It would also seem to be the case that sponsorship groups which were affiliated with larger (chiefly church) organizations functioned considerably more efficiently than ad hoc sponsorship groups. The latter often complained of a general lack of information, having been "left to flounder by both the federal and provincial governments" (CEIC 1982). The study by DPA Consulting (1982) provides a relatively complete background to the government's refugee settlement programs and provides several models of settlement based on a study of voluntary, "private sector" participation in the resettlement process.

Published studies of the sociocultural adaptation of refugees have also been comparatively few, but they have been sufficient in number to draw out a few basic generalities. Southeast Asians who have come to Canada after 1977 often do

so with significant initial constraints on their quick acculturation to Canadian culture. As with other Third World refugees who have come to Canada, those from Indochina frequently faced grave language difficulties, and some research has been devoted to detailing some of them (Berwick et al 1979; I. Chan 1976; Dotch 1979; LeMay 1979; Q. Nguyen 1980; Nguyen and Dorais 1979). In addition, Dorais and Nguyen are presently proceeding with a comparatively large scale sociolingustic study of language use in Quebec. Language difficulties sometimes result in individuals remaining profoundly isolated from other Canadians. Access to English and French language training has varied enormously from province to province and from individual to individual. However, the effect of this unequal access on people's life chances is still largely unknown despite a growing literature on refugees, ESL and education (D'Angelijan 1981; Kaley 1980; Berwick 1979; Ontario Ministry of Culture & Recreation 1980). Many Southeast Asians see themselves as political refugees, and this also tends to result in a certain degree of home orientation.

At the same time, there are powerful adaptive and integrative forces acting on most Southeast Asians. For example, no Southeast Asian Canadian community is large enough for a significant proportion of individuals to derive their income from working within the community. Economic adaptation consequently results in considerable cultural adaptation as well. In addition, cultural adaptation is made somewhat easier because Southeast Asians are neither ghettoized nor highly discriminated against; moreover, many are eager to learn more about Canada and develop greater contacts with other Canadians (Nguyen and Dorais 1979; Gee and McKim 1980; Vuong-Riddick 1976; 1980).

Wherever Southeast Asians have settled in any numbers they have been quick to

develop a range of community institutions, which thereafter have played many important roles. For example, Canada's Multiculturalism policy encourages the establishment of community-based ethnocultural associations, which in this case were largely put into place by the end of 1982 (Indra 1979; 1980; 1983). Informal community social networks are strongly maintained, and a vital part of individual adaptation (Li 1980); however, such networks have not been much looked at (Alberta Advanced Education and Manpower 1980). Neither has the rise of religious insitutions, cultural celebrations or community level attempts at cultural maintenance.

Successful economic adaptation is crucial to the long range success of Southeast Asian settlement in Canada. Again, this has been well recogized, but has not resulted in a commensurate level of research activity. Some initial work has been done on general questions of economic adaptation (Buchignani 1980), possible job discrimination (Siu 1980a; 1980b) and the occupational adjustment of military personnel (MacRury 1979). Somewhat later, information has begun to come in on several crucial economic issues. One of the most important is the degree to which private sponsorship has been a positive economic benefit to refugees (as compared with their government sponsored counterparts). It seems already clear that private sponsorship provided signficant initial economic advantages; it keeps initial costs low, allowed key family members to gain language training, and frequently led to greater ease in finding employment (DPA Consulting 1982a; 1982b; CEIC 1981; 1982; Alberta Advanced Education & Manpower 1982; Neuwirth & Clark 1980; 1981). There is developing a consensus (as seen in the above studies) that English or French language facility has a strong determinant effect on economic adaptation.

An important piece of research on economic adaptation is presently in progress

through the Canada Employment and Immigration Commission (1984). This is a national longuitudinal study of the economic adjustment of refugees over the period 1981-3.

In addition, there were a large number of papers and reports which addressed aspects of Canada's rapidly evolving policy on Indochinese refugee settlement (Adelman et al 1980; Adelman 1980d; 1982; Best 1982; Dirks 1977; 1979; 1980; Eastham 1980; Kaplan 1980; Lanphier 1981a; 1981b; 1983; McCrossan 1980; Quebec Ministry of Education 1978; Richmond 1980; Wurfel 1980; Howard 1980; Knott 1982).

In addition to these, several other rather large scale projects on Indochinese refugee settlement have either been funded by the federal government or else have been carried out by it. These were primarily initiated in late 1980 or 1981, and consequently have generally not yet found their way into print. They include a multi-disciplinary study of individual immigrant adaptation in Vancouver (Beiser, Johnson and Nann 1983), an Ottawa-centered analysis of sponsorship and occupational adjustment (Neuwirth and Clark), a national longitudinal study of immigrant settlement by the Canadian Employment and Immigration Commission (Canada, CEIC 1981; 1982), an analysis of group sponsorship (nationally (DPA Consulting 1982a; 1982b) and a research project on the legal difficulties of Indochinese refugees (with particular reference to unaccompanied minors) which compares Canada to the United States (Pask 1983). These studies have the potential to greatly expand our present knowledge of the settlement process, but it is too early to say whether this potential will be realized.

In overview, the literature on Southeast Asian settlement in Canada can be looked

at in two ways. To take the more optimistic side, one could argue that there are now a fair number of studies on this process. The literature on Southeast Asians in Canada is now substantially larger than it is for most of the country's other ethnocultural populations of comparable size. Policy analysis is well developed, and there now exists sufficient information to put together a broad sketch of Southeast Asian life in Canada.

At the same time, there are understandably enormous gaps and omissions in the literature, for it is really less than five years old. Some omissions, however, do not stem simply from the newness of the field. For example, virtually all research has been on Vietnamese or Vietnamese Chinese, while Lao and Khmer have been systematically ignored. There have been almost no transnational studies linking immigrants with their source countries or with their source country kin; an exception is Allen's (1983) and Allen and Hiller's (1983) work on the logic of deciding to leave Vietnam. Very little has been done to create a better understanding of the structure of Indochinese communities, which are rapidly developing at present (for an exception, see Lam 1983). Almost no account has been taken of the effects of the 1981-3 economic downturn on refugees, despite the fact that in some cities (c.f. Calgary, Edmonton) the present refugee unemployment rate is informally figured to be 40%. Indochinese use of social, health and educational services remains largely unknown. Language problems for many individuals remain profound, yet these also have received very little research attention. After a spate of interest in family and mental health problems, activity in this area seems to have prematurely flagged. As is so many areas of social science, there is very little research done on Indochinese women in Canada.

Many so-called refugees are refugees no longer. They are Vietnamese, Vietnamese

Chinese, Lao and Khmer Canadians. Increasingly, their commitment is to Canada, yet almost no research has been devoted towards the direction in which their long term integration into Canadian society will take. Finally, few researchers have considered the fundamental question of what specifically is Southeast Asian about the settlement of Southeast Asian refugees in Canada. That is, what aspects of their settlement saga can be attributed to their "Southeast Asianness" and what aspects result from their refugee status?

Another area which has so far been almost totally ignored has been that of oral and community history. The Southeast Asian refugee movement has been one of the most significant events in Canadian immigration history, and if some work in this area is not done soon it may be impossible thereafter. In addition, very little research has been carried out by the communities in question beyond that mentioned above. This of necessity results in most studies largely having the perspective of outsiders looking in; the obvious danger of this is that many Southeast Asian concerns are inevitably lost.

It is difficult to predict the future course of research on Southeast Asians in Canada. Southeast Asians have largely dropped out of the news, and on the whole they are not ethnocultural groups which are likely to protest even the most acute community problems. Consequently, it is unlikely that many academics not already involved in Southeast Asian Canadian settlement research will be attracted to it. However, as Southeast Asian communities become more established, they are likely to receive somewhat greater attention through other research orientations. For example, they will be a natural focus of studies concerned with social and cultural pluralism in Canada; other ethnocultural groups have received considerable attention of this sort recently, and Southeast Asians are not likely to be an exception.

Another area in which there many well be considerable development is in studies of education. here again, research on new immigrant groups in Canada has been quite extensive.

Notes

1. This bibliography contains almost all available studies involving research on Southeast Asian settlement in Canada. It was supported in part by the Canadian Asian Studies Association. In order to compile the bibliography, all social science Departments in Canada were contacted in a search for references. So also were all of the bibliographies of research collected, as well as extant bibliographies of Southeast Asian settlement in the United States (c.f. Stein 1981) and elsewhere. There are a number of ongoing studies which have not been listed here, primarily because they have not yet been published.

2. It should be also noted that Refuge, Canada's periodical on refugee affairs, was established at this time. It is a good reference to then current issues in Indochinese refugee settlement.

3. For a bibliography see Abraham et al (1980); see Ng (1982) on the client characteristics of a settlement agency; Calgary Sponsor & Refugee Society (1982) on perceived refugee legal needs and their attitudes towards the law; Catholic Social Services (1983) on ESL access; Ottawa-Carleton Immigrant Southeast Asian Refugee Steering Committee (1983) on settlement needs in their area; CEIC (1981) on immigration and employment office use; 1982 on the actual refugee immigration program; Vietnamese Community of Toronto 1979 on Vietnamese social service needs. There were also several community-organized studies carried out during this period (see for example the community study of Toronto Vietnamese social service needs (Vietnamese Association 1979).

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